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In Memoriam



STEPHEN G. RICH

**A FAITHFUL MEMBER OF
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SUBURBANISM AND EDUCATION

Dan W. Dodson

One of the profound changes of American life has been accomplished through population mobility in the past decade. It is the emergence of the suburb as the center of cultural dominance in America. By 1950 the 168 metropolitan areas of America contained 54 per cent of the nation's population. It is estimated that they grew by 12 million in the next five years. Of this latter growth only 2,600,000 occurred in the inner cities themselves. The remainder was in the suburbs. The pattern of growth is also something to contemplate. New York City and its metropolitan area is the most startling example of the trend, but is different only in degree and not in kind to the others. Between 1950 and 1957 New York City proper lost a middle class white population about the size of Washington, D. C., (about 750,000) and gained an ethnically identifiable Negro and Puerto Rican population, heavily lower socio-economic status, about the size of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (650,000), and lost 100,000 population. The suburbs grew by staggering proportions. Long Island, i.e., Nassau and Suffolk Counties, gained about one and one-half million population. Modern technology, transportation, and a high level of income have made it possible for more people than ever before to have the home in the country with a garden and sunshine for the children. Heretofore, the inner city dominated its suburbs, but today, what with its loss of middle class leadership and outgrowth of political boundaries, the city and hence the entirety of our society is coming under the cultural dominance of the suburban way of life.

WHAT DOES SUBURBANISM MEAN?

Here, then, is a rich field for sociological and educational research. If this hypothesis has merit it would behoove us to understand it in order to better interpret it to a citizenry, and to better cope with the problems it produces in its wake.

The following characteristics are suggestive of suburbanism as a phenomenon, and are here presented in order to stimulate discussion and research into their implications:

1. *Suburbanism is a segregative way of life.*

Communities are planned and built by contractors, who use mass production methods, and make the communities large enough to be self-contained. Hence they tend to be homogeneous as to race and

socio-economic status. Many are homogeneous as to religious faith. Levittown, N. Y. which our Center For School and Community Services studied was, in 1947 six and one-half square miles of potato fields with 36 children in two class-rooms. In 1954 they had 15,000 houses sheltering 45,000 people with 12,500 children in school and more pre-school children than scholastics. All the families were beginning families. There were few if any grandparents in the community. All were white. Not a single family would have been classified by the census as non-white. All were within a very narrow range of each other as to income.

Levittown is the extreme. It has its smaller counterparts, however, in any one of several other communities in the suburbs. Bethpage, which we next studied, located next door to Levittown was being built for slightly further advanced families, and instead of the Cape Cod and ranch style architecture was being developed with the more expensive "split level" type home. ("Split level" has become the symbol of upward mobility. Someone humorously remarked that there was a man driving around in a split level Mercury automobile.) Again the segregation as to ethnic background is practically complete. In New Rochelle, N. Y. which was also studied the new communities in the North end of town were conservatively estimated to be 97 per cent Jewish and all of upper socio-economic status.

2. *Suburbanism is a homogeneous pattern of life.*

Segregation naturally emphasizes cultural homogeneity. However, beyond such socio-economic and ethnic factors of homogeneity are those of the broader bases of culture. One person writing in *Cosmopolitan Magazine* remarked that the families in the development in which he lived were so much alike that had the wives gotten their husbands mixed at the P.T.A. meeting they couldn't have told the difference until they got them home and looked at their drivers' licenses.

Heretofore the suburban couple's interest revolved around the activities of the inner city. Children were brought to the museums and theatres in the inner city. Today, with the decentralization of the shopping facilities, the television takes the place of the opera or the theatre. The Junior Leagues in some Westchester communities have recently attempted to produce live drama with their local talent, because their children have such small opportunity to see "live" acting. Interest tends to pivot around local neighborhood institutions and concerns. Hence the church becomes a social center in a different sense to what was the traditional pattern. Neighbors' communal con-

cerns are those of husbandry such as keeping up the lawn, getting the garage painted, the attic expanded, or the automobile laundered.

3. *Suburbanism is a fragmented way of life.*

Perhaps all living is fragmented, but suburbanism accentuates the pattern. Living in segregated, homogeneous neighborhoods is, of course, fragmentation. In addition, however, there are numerous other aspects suggested. One of the first is the fragmentation of family life occasioned by children living in communities where fathers all commute, and their contacts with their children are largely those of the weekend. Then there is the fragmentation occasioned by the separation of children from their larger families, *grosse familie* in sociological terminology. There is the fragmentation occasioned by the fact that political boundaries are completely chaos. A neighborhood may be in one school district, another recreation district, still a third fire or sewerage unit, and communal programs such as red feather are not related to any particular official unit of government. Then there is the separation of industry from community. Most people migrated to the suburbs to escape noise and dirt of industrial proximity. Children often have no conception of the industrial life of the country because of this type of fragmented living. Another aspect of fragmentation is the orientation of the youth to one age group. Levittown is primarily a beginning family community. As the children get older, and the parents get more economic status the tendency is to move to the community with the larger houses. Thus the grouping tends to be that of peers in so far as age is concerned. In planning the school facilities for Levittown as against Bethpage we allowed proportionately more early childhood facilities in the former and more secondary school facilities in the latter. Our greatest miscalculations were that we did not accentuate this trend enough. What this means as to "peer group" domination of the child as he is reared in these "family stage" oriented developments is yet to be assessed. Another dimension of the same phenomenon is what it means to growth and development of children to be reared in developments where there is this "built in" type of mobility. In other words the size of the houses almost guarantees that if a resident has a larger than two bedroom family and economic resource enough to afford it, he will move in the middle of his family developmental stage. The other facet of it is, also, that when the children leave home there is almost the guarantee that the parents will also move from the suburb back to the inner city. This type of mobility accentuates what is already the American trend of mobility. How to gear education to such mobility

is a problem scarcely recognized by school systems at the present time.

4. *Suburbanism tends toward conformity.*

One aspect of suburbanism is its middle class orientation. "Keeping up with the Jones" is a familiar part of its behavior pattern. The preoccupation tends to be with how one's status compares with that of the neighbors. Children are pressured to make good in school, not because of academic curiosity, but in order not to embarrass the family. Suburban schools, are increasingly faced with the problem of children taking courses not to meet needs, but in order to get in the right colleges. Some join extra-curricular activities not because of interest, but because of desire to have it on record when they apply to college. In many such schools there has developed a climate of anti-intellectualism which is undoubtedly a hostility to working under such pressure.

If proof were needed of the extent to which this type of conformism has pervaded America the Jacob study of college values amply documents it. Of course there is no proof that suburban children are any more conforming than others, but certainly here is an area for study.

5. *Suburbanism has "built in" patterns of educational inequality.*

A few illustrations from New York City's suburbs will suffice to indicate what is meant. At the peak of their enrollment in Levittown, barring a mass exodus, the community will have a tax base of less than \$2,500 per child on which to draw for community services. The reason is obvious. There are no industries in the town. The only non-residential property on which to draw for taxes is that contained in a shopping center. Since the houses are modestly priced and the families attracted to them are of the relatively high cost social welfare type, i.e., they have many children to be educated, and many recreational and other welfare cost needs, the services are meagre. The average child in the average community in New York where the assessment ratio to value is the same as that of Levittown has a tax base of \$15,000 for such services.

In contrast the entire county of Westchester has built few residences since the war that sell for less than \$18,000 to \$20,000. Hence the young families who are just starting, who have the need for services are either forced to go to the slums of these communities, or else go to the Levittowns of the metropolis.

Another phenomenon is represented in the case of Mahwah, N. J. Here the city fathers signed a contract with the Ford Motor Com-

pany for a plant that would employ 5,000 people. As soon as the contract was negotiated they passed an ordinance that no more houses could be built in this northern New Jersey suburb on sites less than one acre in size. This meant that no homes would be erected to sell for less than \$20,000. It meant that none of the workers would be able to build in the community. While the community had its tax rolls increased by 50% they will have none of the responsibility for the education and other welfare costs of the families of the people who work there. Some other community must shoulder that burden. The people who live in the community, and commute in large numbers to the inner city, meet the people who work there twice a day as they come and go on the highways between Mahwah and the inner cities of Newark and New York City.

6. *Suburbanism is heavily dependent upon "snob appeal" for its stability.*

Westchester affords a good example. While studying the racial imbalance in the school system it was clear that such a community, 85% dependent upon residential taxes for support of community services, could not afford too many welfare type families. Their older section had become the bedrooms for the domestics who worked in the surrounding communities of Scarsdale and Pelham. There were approximately 3 women over 14 years of age for every 2 men in the Negro group in the community. The only appeal the community has is the deluxe appeal of its neighborhood schools. Property values would tumble precipitously should this be lost. Hence the board of education had built super-deluxe schools in the upper class neighborhoods, and left the three schools in the low income areas—mostly Negro and Italian background populations—to their own devices in inferior programs as well as facilities.

It is because of this preoccupation with status that the violence erupted in Levittown, Pennsylvania when the Negro family moved in there in August of 1957.

WHITHER VALUES

As a last issue which concerns this new type of living the question of values is paramount. Can such privilege be enjoyed without attendant concerns for others who are likewise segregated and relegated to inner city ghettos, or is the sense of alienation which the theologians are beginning to write about, the inevitable consequence of the enjoyment of such preferment? Does it make much difference what the schools do to try to produce scientists and other pioneers in behav-

ioral science if the milieu in which the youth are reared is centered on "things" i.e., deep freezers, automobile tail fins, and other symbols of status, and on catching the 8:18 in the morning rather than centered on ideas? Can the dynamic with which to deal with today's world's problems come from a society whose cultural dominance is the conservation of a socio-economic position? It is hoped that these topics here discussed will stimulate further examination of this phenomenon in order that its blessings, which are many, will not be cancelled out by the liabilities.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

It is with deep regret that we announce the increase in price for THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. In the years since its subscription price was set the costs of production have doubled. The staff has tried to curtail costs by using volunteer help and by reducing the size of the print and the number of pages. This allowed some reduction in cost without reducing the amount of material. The rise in postal rates made necessary some adjustments in costs. It was decided that our readers would prefer to pay a little more than to have the quality of the magazine further jeopardized.

Beginning with the present volume the price will be \$4.00 for regular domestic subscriptions for one year, and \$7.00 for two years. Single copies will be 50¢. Foreign subscribers will still be able to get the magazine for regular prices plus 25¢ to Canada, 35¢ to South American and the Phillipines, and 40¢ elsewhere.

OCCUPATION, LABOR FORCE STATUS AND EDUCATION

Edmund deS. Brunner and Sloan Wayland

It is well-established that educational attainment is related to the types of work in which people engage and conversely, that for an increasing number of occupations initial entry is limited to those who have attained a given level of education. The days when a high school graduate could "read" law or medicine with a successful practitioner of these professions and eventually qualify as a lawyer or doctor are over. In five of the 13 major occupational groupings derived from the 1950 Census classification, above average educational status is either required or preferred.¹

One result of this and perhaps other trends has been a rapid upgrading of the educational status of the American labor force to a degree perhaps little realized. In 1940 males 18 to 64 years of age in the labor force had a median educational attainment of 9.3 years of school. In 1957, according to a Census Bureau survey this had risen to 11.8 years. For females the comparable figures were 10.2 and 12.2 years.² In other words the gain in years of schooling among American workers was more rapid than that of the adult population as a whole, which went from 8.6 to 10.3 years for males and 8.7 to 10.9 years for females in the same period. This is perhaps a unique situation. One would expect the education of a nation's labor force to conform to that of the population of which it was a part, especially among males since approximately four-fifths of all adults of this sex are employed.³

EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

This raises a question as to whether those in the labor force but unemployed are less well educated than those holding jobs. This was amply demonstrated during the Great Depression but in times of close to full employment may not be the case. In periods of labor scarcity arbitrarily set educational standards might be relaxed as has hap-

¹ Lawrence G. Thomas, *The Occupational Structure and Education*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1956. p. 400.

² Bureau of the Census, *Educational Attainment of Workers: March 1957*, Washington, Bureau of the Census, Series P-50 No. 78—November 1957.

³ There is of course a small measure of incomparability in these data in that the figures for the total population includes those 65 years of age and over and this group has had less education in comparison especially with those under 40 years of age. On the other hand among the 18 to 24 year old cohort those not in the labor force are presumably still in school or college and probably have a higher educational level than those of the same ages who are employed or seeking work.

pened in a number of states with respect to the recruitment of teachers.

From the point of view of answering this question the 1950 Census was taken at a fortunate time. About three million persons, 4.8 percent of the labor force were unemployed. This is a large enough number to warrant examination of the association between the unemployed status of this group and their education. There is a positive association.

The findings may be summarized as follows:

1. For any given age level, the median level of educational attainment for the employed is higher than for the unemployed.

2. The difference in educational attainment between the employed and unemployed diminishes as age increases. It is from 1.5 to 2.3 years below age 45; less than one year over that age.

3. The difference in educational attainment between the employed and unemployed is very similar for males and females. Since the educational level of women for any given age level is higher for females, the educational level for unemployed females is almost as high as that of the employed males.

4. For the non-white males, some of the relationships noted above do not obtain. Below 45 years of age, the unemployed non-white had a higher median level of education than the employed. This appears to be a function of the situation in the South. It can be hypothesized that the social structure in this region did not have available for non-whites as many positions requiring above average educational attainment as there were non-whites to fill them and that some of this group were unwilling to take jobs in which their education would be little utilized. For the non-white female, the employed had a higher median level of education but the difference in education between employed and unemployed was only one half as large as for the total population.

5. Within any particular age group as well as for all persons 25 years old and above, the percentage of the labor force unemployed declined as the educational level increased. The one major exception to this relationship was found in the non-white group where those in the middle education levels experienced higher unemployment than those with low or high education.

Participation or non-participation in the labor force is the result of the interplay of a number of factors of which education is clearly an important one. Especially for women, since far smaller proportions than men are employed, education is a selective factor.

For women marital status is an important determinant of labor

force status but regardless of such status for all ages the higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the proportions in the labor force. The increases in these proportions as educational attainment rises is however greater for the unmarried, including widows and divorced, than for married.

College education was a more significant factor in influencing labor force participation for the married than the unmarried. Among the unmarried women, the college graduates participated at only a slightly higher rate than high school graduates. Among the married, the college graduates were in the labor force at a substantially higher rate than the high school graduates, although the high school graduates participated at only a slightly higher rate than eighth grade or less than fifth grade graduates.

For both the married and the unmarried females, the percentage in the labor force increased from the lower age levels to a peak at the 35-44 age level and then declined. This characterized the women at each of the various levels of educational attainment with relatively few exceptions. White high school graduates participated at a higher rate after graduation, and then at a declining rate among the unmarried. Among the married, the rate declined until the age level 35-44, and then increased through age 55.

The strength of the factor of marital status on labor force participation as compared with age and educational status is shown most clearly by the relative levels at which the two marital status groups were available for employment. At most age levels, and particularly over 35 years of age, the highest labor force rate for the married women (college graduates) was near the level of the lowest labor force rate of the non-married (under five years of school).

In general, non-white females conformed to the pattern of relationships described above but for each age and educational level the percentage of non-white women in the labor force is higher than that of the total female population especially among college graduates. For instance, for this group almost six out of eight, 72.2 percent non-white married women 35-44 years of age who were college graduates were in the labor force, as compared with three out of eight for the total females in this category.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND EDUCATION

In general the educational status of the major occupational groups is what would be expected, though combining the hundreds of categories used by the Census inevitably conceals some differences. For instance among the 56 occupations in the "Professional, technical

and kindred" worker groups, five of the occupations with 50,000 or more persons involved had medians of less than 15 years of schooling; 23 fell in the category of 16 or more.

In Table I the median years of school completed by the employed labor force for each major occupational grouping and for color and regional groups is given. This has been arranged in the rank order for median year of school completed for all males.

TABLE I

Median Years of School Completed by Males by Major Occupational Grouping by Regions: 1950

Occupational Grouping	U. S. Total	North & West	South	Total Non-white	Southern Non-white
Professional, technical and kindred workers	16 plus	16 plus	16 plus	15.9	16 plus
Sales workers	12.3	12.4	12.1	9.4	8.0
Managers, officials, and proprietors except farm	12.2	12.2	12.0	8.4	7.4
Clerical and kindred workers	12.2	12.2	12.2	12.0	11.0
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	9.3	9.5	8.8	7.8	6.5
Operatives and kindred workers	8.7	8.9	7.9	7.1	6.0
Service workers except private household workers	8.7	8.8	8.2	8.0	7.1
Farmers and farm managers	8.3	8.6	6.8	4.1	4.1
Private household workers	8.1	8.5	6.4	7.0	6.1
Laborers except farm and mine	8.0	8.4	6.0	6.0	5.2
Farm laborers, unpaid family workers	7.9	8.4	6.3	4.5	4.4
Farm laborers except unpaid and farm foremen	7.1	8.3	4.9	4.0	3.8

In general professional and technical workers were at the top, followed by white collar workers, blue collar workers, farmers and laborers. This pattern characterized the females as well as the males, although the order within these major categories varied somewhat. The professional and technical occupational group had the most distinctive position. Its median was approximately four years higher than that of the closest group, and in some instances the gap was considerably greater. The gap between the white collar and the blue collar groups was three years or more in most sex and color groups. The differences between the other major occupational groups were not very great. The rank orders for sex and color groups were roughly similar.

For two occupation groups—professional and clerical workers—

the median school year completed varies very little for different sex, color, and regional groups. The greatest deviation came among the non-white workers other than those in professional or clerical occupations. Similarly, the non-white workers in agriculture are considerably lower than the white in both the South and the non-South. The occupation group, farm laborers, excluding unpaid family laborers and farm foremen, was consistently at the bottom in each sex, color and regional category even though the median years completed ranged from 3.8 years for non-white southern males to 8.3 years for all males in North and West.

It is interesting also to note that the educational status of sales, clerical and kindred workers in 1950 was slightly higher than for "manager, officials and proprietors." This is almost certainly a function of age since the former group tend to be recruited from the younger, better educated members of the labor force.

TABLE II
Median Years of School Completed by Females

Occupational Grouping	U. S. Total	North & West	South	Total Non-white	Southern Non-white
Professional, technical and kindred workers	15.8	15.6	16 plus	16 plus	16 plus
Sales workers	11.6	11.8	11.1	10.3	9.1
Managers, officials and proprietors except farm	12.1	12.1	11.6	8.6	8.0
Clerical and kindred workers	12.4	12.4	12.5	12.6	12.6
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	9.9	9.9	10.0	8.9	8.5
Operatives and kindred workers	8.7	8.8	8.3	8.4	7.3
Service workers except private household workers	9.1	9.3	8.8	8.4	7.8
Farmers and farm managers	8.1	8.8	6.4	4.8	4.7
Private household workers	7.9	8.5	6.5	7.0	6.4
Laborers except farm and mine	8.6	8.8	7.6	7.6	6.3
Farm laborers, unpaid family workers	8.4	8.8	6.8	5.7	5.6
Farm laborers except unpaid and farm foremen	6.5	8.7	5.1	4.8	4.6

AGE, OCCUPATION, AND EDUCATION

Several difficulties arise in the analysis of the impact of age on the relationships between education and occupational status. (1) The general level of education has risen over the period of time represented by the current labor force. (2) Education of a type not recorded in the Census, such as industrial training and commercial and

vocational courses, may have served the same function for some occupations as education in schools and colleges for other occupations.

(3) The variety of occupations within the major occupational groupings may be age selective in such a way that the variation in age and education within a major occupational group may reflect to some degree variation among specific occupations. (4) Changes in the educational level for a major occupational group may not represent a change in the educational level required, but rather an effort on the part of employers to establish a higher level of education as a precondition of employment. For example, a high school education may be required in 1950 for employment in a type of work for which an elementary education was required in an earlier generation, even though the technical level of skill required may not be greatly different. In a sense the relationships between age, education, and occupation described below are probably a resultant of the interplay of these elements.

For the total male population in the employed labor force, the educational attainment level as measured by the median year of school completed declined from 12.0 for the 25-29 age group to 8.4 for the 55-64 age group. This difference of 3.6 years was greater than any major occupational group considered separately. For the professional, technical, and kindred workers group, the median was more than 4 years of college for each age group, and for farmers, sales workers, and private household workers, the young and the old age groups differed by about one year. Only for the craftsmen and service workers were the differences between the young and old workers as much as three years.

For each major occupational group, except the professional workers, the older the worker, the lower the educational median in every sex, color, and regional category, even though in some instances the differences were not very great for different age levels. The increased educational level of the male population over time is not only seen in the higher educational levels in the younger age levels in each major occupational group, but also in the increased proportions of the labor force in the occupations with higher educational levels. During the decade from 1940 to 1950, the male civilian employed labor force increased by 20.1 percent. All of the first seven occupation groups in terms of educational attainment except sales workers increased more than the total rate of increase and of the bottom five occupational groups, four experienced decline of from 16.0 to 35.7 percent and one increased by only 9.5 percent. Professional workers increased by 43.1 percent, and the managers, officials, and proprietors group increased by 34.3 percent. During this same decade the median

age of all employed workers increased from 38.3 to 39.3 years. For most of the occupational groups with the lower educational medians, the median age of male workers increased more than the national rate, and the median age of the other occupational groups either declined or increased at less than the national rate.

In the discussion following and at subsequent points, the 12 major occupational groups are combined into four categories which are referred to as types of occupational groups. The basis of the classification is a combination of educational characteristics and type of activity involved in the occupations. Since the professional, technical, and kindred workers have a distinctive educational pattern and distinctive occupational status, this major occupational group is considered as a separate type and will be referred to as professional occupations. The second type includes the managers, officials and proprietors; clerical and kindred workers; and sales workers. This group will be referred to as the white collar occupational type. The third type will be referred to as non-farm manual workers and includes skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled workers, as well as private household and other service workers. The fourth type is the series of farming occupations including operators as well as laborers.

Any such classification will bring together some disparate elements. However, this classification is being used primarily for consideration of the factor of age and as will be seen below, seems to be fruitful for that purpose.

Another way to look at the relationship between age, occupation, and education is to compare the types of occupations into which persons go with different educational attainment for the various age levels. For college graduates, the occupational distribution did not vary greatly for different age levels with approximately nine out of ten working in professional or white collar occupations at all age levels. At the other extreme, for those with less than 5 years of education, approximately nine out of ten were in the non-farm manual and farm occupations.

For the middle educational levels, 8 and 12 years of school, the variations by age were not significant for the professional and farming occupations. However, for the white collar and the non-farm manual occupational types, there was a marked shift in the proportions in the different age levels. Among persons with 8 years of school in the 25-29 age level there was one white collar to eight non-farm manual workers as compared with more than one white collar to three non-farm manual workers in the 55-64 age level. For the 12 year graduates the corresponding ratios were one to two for the 25-29 age level and four to three for the 55-64 age level. Since

the big increases in relative numbers within the white collar group is in the managers, officials, and proprietor occupations, it would seem that over the life cycle, a portion of workers are moving from the non-farm manual occupations to the white collar occupations with a much greater shift among those with 12 years of schooling than for the 8th year graduates.

The similarities and differences by regions for males will now be examined. As indicated earlier, the median years of school completed for the white collar and professional occupations in the South and in the North and West do not vary greatly. The non-farm manual and the farming occupations in the South are characterized by lower medians and in the North and West by higher medians than the national medians. This relationship between the regions for the total male population characterizes the different age levels as well. In fact the differences between the medians for the South, and for the North and West for the 25-29 age level are larger for several of the major occupational groups than for the 55-64 age level. This is probably a function of two factors: (1) The gains made in the South over a period of time have been more than matched by gains in the non-South, and (2) selective migration has drained out of the South many of its better educated so that the non-South figure is only partly due to the educational advances in that region. For the South the difference in the median number of years of school completed between the 25-29 age level and the 55-64 age level was 2.3 years (7.7 and 10.0) and in the non-South 3.7 years (8.5 and 12.2).

The relationships observed earlier for all males between selected educational levels and basic types of occupations for different ages characterize the males in the two regions with few exceptions. The distribution of college graduates is very similar in the South and the non-South. Among those with less than 5 years of school, fewer are in farm occupations and more in white collar occupations in the North and West than in the South. The relative importance of non-farm manual occupations decreased, and the white collar occupations increased at both 8 and 12 year educational levels with increases in the ages of workers. The rate of change seems to have been somewhat larger in the South than in the North and West.

NON-WHITE MALES

The non-white occupational patterns differed from the white in several significant ways. Although the median number of years of school completed for non-white males 25 and over in the labor force was only 6.6 years as compared with 9.5 for the total male population, the medians for non-white professional and for clerical workers were

only slightly below the medians for these occupations in the total male labor force. For other major occupational groups, the differences were much greater. For southern non-white males who make up two-thirds of the total non-whites, the median for each occupational group was lower than the median for the total non-white males except for the professional occupations.

Service workers among the non-whites had a higher educational level than craftsmen and operatives in contrast to the pattern for total males. For managers, officials, and proprietors, the educational level for the non-whites was substantially lower than the United States total—8.4 to 12.2 years. The educational levels of farmers and farm laborers were only one-half as high as for the total male population. The lower educational level of non-white workers in the major occupational groupings is closely related to the high concentration of the non-white workers in particular kinds of occupations within the major occupational groupings. For example, in the managers, officials, and proprietors group, two out of three were self-employed in such enterprises as retail trade and eating and drinking places, whereas for this entire group only about one-half were in such enterprises. The median incomes for all types of self-employed are substantially lower than for other types of occupations in this broad occupational group, indicating that the enterprises are likely small in size and may be entered by persons of below average education.

Similarly, in the craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, and in the operatives and kindred worker groups, relatively few are in the occupations above the median income level for that group, and a large proportion are in the occupations which had median incomes below the media for that group. The educational level of non-whites in the same occupations is therefore not as different as might appear when the related occupations are classified into major occupational groups.

However, in spite of the factors listed above, the difference in the median years of school for all males in the labor force and the non-whites (2.9 years) is greater than the difference between these two categories for each major occupational group except for the manager group and the various farm occupations. This indicates that the occupational groups are selective educationally for non-white as well as white. With the movement out of agriculture of many who are the least well educated, it seems important to determine the extent to which upper mobility occupationally is restricted by the lack of education as well as by color.

The examination of the educational characteristics of the non-white by age for major occupational groups reveals examples of both rapid and slow change. (1) The gap in educational attainment be-

tween the total and the non-white is greater for the 25-29 year group than for those 55-64—3.9 and 3.3 respectively. While the *percentage* gain of the non-whites—5.1 to 8.1 years—is greater between 25-29 and 55-64, the magnitude of the gain for the total population of this age span—8.4 to 12.0—is such that the non-white group is still at a major disadvantage in an occupational market which is educationally selective.

(2) In the professional and clerical occupations, the non-white workers in the 25-29 age group are very similar to the total workers in their levels of educational attainment. In the managers, officials, and proprietors, and in the sales occupations, the non-white workers are rapidly approaching the level of all workers. In the laborers, except farm and mine, and private household occupations, the differences are diminishing, but in the other occupational groups the differences are still substantial.

Since two-thirds of the non-white workers were in the South, the non-white data for the South and for the United States are similar in most parts. This is particularly true for the professions where essentially national standards apply; for clerical occupations; and for the farm occupations since very few non-white farmers are found outside of the South. For the other occupational groups, the southern non-white educational attainment medians are somewhat lower.

However, the lower southern rates do not account for the lower rates for all non-white. In the youngest age level—25-29—the difference in occupational status by education in the North and West is manifested at each educational level. Among college graduates twice as high a proportion of the non-white were in the non-farm manual occupations—20.9 percent to 10.0 percent. For the high school graduates, almost three out of four (73.5 percent) of the non-white workers were in non-farm manual occupations as compared with less than three out of five (58.0 percent) for all workers.

In this examination of the distribution of all male workers for selected educational levels and selected ages, it was shown that the distribution of college graduates and functional illiterates did not vary much for different age levels, and that the professional and farm occupations tended to hold their relative proportions of each educational level for the different age levels. For the non-white segment of the total, this pattern is also present. However, in the total male labor force there was a marked shift from non-farm manual to white collar in the same educational level as the age increased. While there is some slight change of this type in the non-white male labor force, the magnitude of the change is very small as compared with the total male labor force. This lack of mobility is of even greater

significance when seen in connection with the data presented above on the initially lower point of entrance into the labor force for the 8th and 12th grade non-white graduate. That is, he comes into the occupational market at a lower position and apparently has not moved up as rapidly as his white peers.

This pattern characterizes also the relationships in the two regions with the following exceptions: a substantially higher proportion of the college graduates at each level are in the professions in the South than in the North and West. For the 25-29 age level 70.6 percent of the college graduates in the South were in the professions as compared with only 52.1 percent in the North and West. For the lower educational levels the workers are split between farming and non-farm manual occupations in the South, but are highly concentrated in the latter occupations in the North and West.

FEMALES IN THE LABOR FORCE

As was shown in the section above on labor force and education, females in the labor force as a group have a much higher educational attainment level than males (11.3 to 9.5 years). Not only do females in and out of the labor force have a higher educational level, but also participation in the labor force is educationally selective in favor of those with more education. However, when the females are classified by major occupational groupings, this favorable position is seen as largely related to the types of occupations in which women engage. In six of the major occupational groups, males had a higher median number of years completed, in five females were higher, and in one they were the same. In all occupational groups the differences by sex were relatively small.

A somewhat different rank order of the major occupational groups by median educational level exists for females. After the professions, the second highest was the clerical and kindred workers, followed by managers, officials and proprietors, and then by sales workers. In comparison with the male workers, the service workers had a higher median than operatives, and private household workers dropped to a position just above farm laborers. This rank order characterized the regions and color groups except for a shift of the farming occupations to the bottom for the non-white segment of the female labor force.

Close to four out of ten (39.6 percent) of the females were in the two major occupational groups ranking one and two in median years of school completed, and over one-half (52.4 percent) were in the top four groups. For males, the corresponding figure was three out of ten (30.8 percent) for these top four occupational groups. Between 1940 and 1950 the percent of all females in these four occu-

pational groups increased from 45.4 percent to the 52.4 percent cited above, whereas the large increases in females in the labor force since 1950, and the educationally selective characteristics identified earlier, the favorable position of females has probably been extended.

AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

For females in the labor force, the median year of school completed was 3.4 years higher for those in the age group 25-29 than for those 55-64. Among the major occupation groups, the difference was less than one year in five of the twelve, and over three years in only one case. The educational levels for females were much more homogeneous for the different ages than for males. The range among female clerical workers for the United States, and for the two regions for the different age levels was from 12.1 to 12.6.

The regional patterns were similar to the national pattern with several exceptions. The professional workers in the South had a higher educational attainment level than the North and West. Below the white collar level, the South had consistently lower medians for each age level in each major occupational group. This difference was greatest in the farming occupations, and in private household occupations.

Another way of looking at the relationship of age to occupation and education is the examination of the types of occupation engaged in by persons at specified educational levels. Among the female functional illiterates, for the United States, approximately three out of four worked in non-farm manual occupations, and one-half of the others worked in farming occupations. This pattern did not vary greatly by age although there was a slight increase in this proportion in the non-farm manual occupations at the older ages, and a decline in the proportion in the farming occupations. At the other end, seven out of ten of the college graduates were in the professions, and this held constant for the different ages. This is a considerably higher proportion than the males, more of whom went into managerial and proprietary occupations. In the earlier analysis it was shown that the proportion in the non-farm manual occupations for a given educational level tended to decline with age, and the proportions in non-professional white collar occupations tended to increase. However, this was true among females only for the 8th grade graduate, and the rate of increase was not as great as for males. This would suggest that the movement to higher status occupations is not as open for females as for males, although the entrance level is in general at a higher point.

The relationships described above characterize the two regions as well as the nation with two exceptions. (1) Among the eighth

grade graduates in the South, the rate of decline in non-farm manual occupations with increased age and the increase in the white collar occupations is much greater than in the North and West, and is of the same order as the male shifts. (2) Functional illiterates in the North and West are found to a greater degree (24.1 percent at the 25-29 age level) in the white collar occupations than in the South (5.4 percent). The farming occupations in the South attract those who do not work as non-farm manual workers.

NON-WHITE FEMALES

The major proportion of the female non-white population in the labor force is found in the operative, service, and household worker occupations. However, those in the professions and in clerical work had higher levels of educational attainment than the total female population in these occupations.

In the three farming occupations the non-white females were considerably below all females in those occupations, but in the three major occupational groups in which most of the non-white females were found, the educational level of non-white and total females were not greatly different, particularly at the younger ages.

The higher proportion of college graduates who enter the professions, noted in the data on all females, is even higher for the non-white females. For the 25-29 group, over three out of four (76.1 percent) were in this category, and a roughly similar proportion was found at the other age levels. Of the high school graduates, few were in the professional and white collar occupations, and three out of four entered the non-farm manual occupations. The proportion of 8th and 12th grade graduates who were in this occupational category did not change significantly in the upper age levels. However, the proportion of high school graduates in the white collar occupations was twice as large for the 25-29 age level as for the 55-64 age level. This might be interpreted as increasing opportunity for the non-white female who has graduated recently in the white collar occupations. Unfortunately, the size of the sample used by the Census did not provide enough cases for reliable percentages for many of the age categories for the regions, and the testing of this relationship is thus not possible. It appears, however, that the patterns in the two regions are very similar to the national picture with the following exception: Over four out of five female non-white college graduates in the South enter the professions, but a smaller proportion of high school graduates enter the white collar occupations.

This and the two following articles may be identified as publication A-275 of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.

EDUCATION AND INCOME

Edmund deS. Brunner and Sloan Wayland

That there is a definite relation between the amount of education an individual has had and the amount of income he earns has often been demonstrated. It is the stock argument urged on Johnny when, tempted by the natural desire to have his own money in his pocket, he threatens to leave school and take a job. The major finding of this study can therefore be accurately foretold by any reader.¹

There are however some still unanswered questions. Judged purely by the criterion of income is it more advantageous today than it was at the beginning of the century to hold one or more college degrees? With the rapid advance in wages achieved by labor, especially in the skilled and semi-skilled categories, has the advantage of the college graduate over his high school or grade school contemporary lessened or not? Are there regions of the nation where, judging by monetary rewards alone, education is more or less well regarded than in others? Are there significant differences between the sexes or races in any of these particulars? So far as 1950 census data permit, partial answers will be attempted to these questions.²

One possible but partial answer to the first two questions can be derived by comparing the percentage that the income of groups of the same age who have had varying amounts of education are of the median income for all persons within that age group. This is done for all males and females for selected age groups and educational levels in table I.

It will be noted that median income is highest in the 35 to 44 year old group and then declines. It is also evident that the advantage of the college graduate over any other educational category increases with age. His income is more than double that of the functional il-

¹ Herman P. Miller, *Income of the American People*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1955, pp. 43-45, 65-68.

² The income data of the Census have these limitations in terms of the above questions. They are based on a 20% sample of the population. In some categories this results in the base being too small, i.e. less than 3000, to warrant reporting percentages for comparative purposes. The data deal with money income only. Therefore value of products raised and used at home by farmers, the values of living quarters furnished by the employer such as parsonages is not included. The highest category used, "\$10,000 and over" is an open-end category. Interviewees simply indicated to the census enumerator that their income was over this figure, and therefore the upper ranges are not detailed. Finally the data do not differentiate between earned income and other sources such as dividends, interest, rents, and royalties.

literate in the youngest group, almost triple in the next, triple in the three following and better than four fold in the oldest group. Comparably the college graduate's advantages over his high school contemporary in the first three groups is respectively 1.1, 27.7, 45.9 percent and then fluctuates between 50 percent and 59 percent for the last three. The small difference in the 25 to 29 year old group does not mean that the spread between high school and college graduates is narrowing. For one thing in 1950, 10.5 percent of all males 25 to 29 years of age were attending school or college. If employed at all, therefore, it was on a part-time basis, which would reduce their earnings. Again those entering the labor force with less than a college education could attain, especially in unionized occupations lacking severe apprenticeship regulations, the maximum compensation in a shorter span of years than would the college graduate entering the professions or managerial or administrative positions. Nor does the data warrant the conclusion that in 1990 today's college graduate of 25 to 29 years of age will enjoy the same proportionate advantage over those with less education than the college graduate who has passed 64 years does today. It can, however, be stated that his advantage will increase as his age group grows older.

TABLE I

Percentage of Median Income of Selected Age Groups Is of Median Income for Total Group by Selected Educational Categories: 1950

		AGE GROUPS: MALES					
		25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74
Median Income of Age Group		\$2538	\$2968	\$3085	\$2980	\$2553	\$1379
		PER CENT OF MEDIAN INCOME RECEIVED					
Educational Level							
1-4 years of school		50.5	49.0	50.6	58.4	67.6	61.3
8 years		88.8	86.2	90.9	97.7	101.9	109.1
High school graduates		113.9	111.5	114.2	123.7	134.6	164.0
College graduates		115.4	142.4	166.7	186.2	201.4	260.8
		AGE GROUPS: FEMALES					
		25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74
Median Income of Age Group		\$1334	\$1285	\$1357	\$1310	\$1011	\$619
		PER CENT OF MEDIAN INCOME RECEIVED					
Educational Level							
1-4 years of school		36.4	46.2	47.9	54.0	60.9	73.0
8 years		71.9	83.0	87.9	89.4	93.2	79.8
High school graduates		121.9	123.5	126.7	137.3	145.6	141.5
College graduates		157.3	171.8	182.0	203.7	256.3	242.2

The other educational categories are not given in this table because in almost every group they fall between those categories that

have been used. Thus persons with one to three years of college have a lower percentage of the median income for their age group than the college graduates but higher than the high school graduates. Similarly those with some high school rank above those with only eight years of school but below high school graduation and those with five to seven years are below those with eight years but above the functional illiterates category, one to four years. Those with no schooling are lowest of all.

The experience of females is comparable. The trends move in the same direction. However the woman college graduate enjoys a much larger initial advantage over those of any other educational category than does the male. And until the highest age group so does the high school graduate over those with less education than she. The picture here is doubtless blurred to some extent by the unknown quantity of women in the labor force who work part-time or who move into and out of the labor force. The trends however are clear and are a reflection of the fact that a larger proportion of employed women than of men are in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations.

NON-WHITE INCOME

It is in the matter of income that the handicaps against which the non-white must struggle become very clear from the 1950 census data, especially in terms of the high proportions of persons under 20 years of age and over 65 who are working as compared with the total population. This is an indication of economic pressure. Nonetheless, the central tendency shown for income to increase with the amount of education holds for non-whites. Also clear from the data is the relatively better positions of the non-white outside the South. Averaging the differences between the incomes of the total population and the non-whites for all educational statuses indicates that non-whites earn about 42 percent less than the total population in the South, whereas the difference in the North and West is less than 25 percent.

The economic advantage of superior education to the non-white may be indicated in summary form without duplicating the more detailed tables used in this article. Using the twelve age categories of the census from the 14 and 15 year olds to those 75 years of age and over, it develops that in no single category of non-white males earning less than \$2500 a year was the median number of years of schooling completed as much as ten, except for those 20 and 21 years old earning between \$2,000 and \$2,499. Conversely, among non-white males under 45 years of age earning from \$3000 to \$6000 a year in

only one of the nine age categories represented did the median number of years of schooling fall below ten and in four it ranged from 11 to 12.2 years.

As with the total population, non-white females of superior education did not earn as much as males of the same age group and equal educational status. Nonetheless, the economic advantage of a longer period of education was quite apparent. Of the age groups with 3,000 or more cases each, earning \$2000 or more, only three showed median years of schooling below 10.0 and eleven ranged from 12.3 to 13.2 years including all those above \$3000 annual income in 1949. Below \$2000 only a few of the younger age groups, 18-29 years of age, averaged 10 or more years of school.

The trends just noted also hold for the regions of the United States, but despite the consistently lower median income for each age group, the southern male college graduate has a greater advantage

TABLE II
Percentage Advantage of Male College Graduates in Median Income
Over Functional Illiterates and High School Graduates
by Age Groups and Regions: 1950

Age Group	1-4 Grades of School		High School Graduate	
	North and West	South	North and West	South
25-29	47.2	158.8	0.0	16.0
30-34	85.9	236.3	26.5	33.4
35-44	118.3	292.1	45.5	49.9
45-54	130.0	340.4	50.5	46.3
55-64	131.3	391.4	49.9	53.8
65-74	238.7	483.7	54.7	80.0

over other educational groups in each age bracket than he has in the north and west, as is shown in table 2. The explanation for this appears clear. The larger proportions of share-croppers of both races and the lower wage rates in the South where factories utilize a higher proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers than in the North and West and the smaller proportion of union members in the labor force in this region doubtless all contribute to this result. The data for the female population follow the same trend in all regions. It appears clear from these data that while median incomes are higher in each age group in the North and West than in the South, there is no restricting of the relative advantage that the college educated man or woman holds over contemporaries who have not had as much education.

This conclusion is confirmed when a comparison is made of the

median number of years of school for persons with incomes in each age group. It had been expected that in the highest income category, \$10,000 and over, the number of years of formal education would drop significantly in the upper age categories especially for males due to the influence of so-called self made men. The income of those 55 years of age or more is lower than for those 54 or less, but the median years in school are above high school graduation even for those over 75 years of age who have had an average 12.4 years. The age groups from 25-29 years to 45-54 range from 13.6 to 14.8 years of education. Among the younger people superior education and top level incomes are clearly related. The highest median in this \$10,000 and over group is scored by the 35-44-year-old males. The regions differ in this respect. In the South this 35 to 44 year age group ranks second in years of education with 14.4 to the 30 to 34-year-olds with 15.3 years, almost full college education. It would seem from these data that while the self-made man who left school in the lower grades and fought his way up to fortune still exists, he is disappearing. By 1980 this top income category will show close to college graduation as their median educational experience.

As incomes decline toward the national median income the educational level of older people also declines. This is more true of men than women. An interesting finding emerges from an examination of the detailed data. Women receiving \$7000 a year or more are not quite as well educated as men in the same income bracket in a majority of the age groups, although not all. Below that income level, women tend to be better educated than men with the same incomes and their superiority, measured by years of school increases as income declines. Those for the ages 30 and above and for income brackets from \$2000 to \$6000 have had more years of education than their male contemporaries, frequently from two to three years more. There is also far less difference in the educational qualifications of women above 25 years of age among the income categories above \$2500 than for men. Relative to men, a superior education nets a smaller return on the investment.

This generalization, statistically warranted, must be tempered by considering two factors impossible of determination. More married women than men seek part-time employment and the proportion of married women in the labor force has been steadily increasing. It is also certain that many married women do not have consecutive employment. They leave the labor force when children come and may or may not return to it when their child-bearing has ceased. If they do return, they are "new" employees and compensated accord-

ingly. A few of the facts stated in the foregoing pages are detailed in table 3.

There is a further way of looking at the crude data on which the above table is based, namely by examining the percentages of the members of selected educational and age groups who fall in certain income categories.

It is certainly significant that less than 10 percent of all males 30 to 34 years of age had incomes of \$3000 or better in 1949 whereas more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of those with college graduation exceed this figure. The comparable figures for women were 1.1 and 16.5 percent.

TABLE III
Median Years of School Completed by Selected Age, Sex,
and Income Groups. U.S.: 1950

Age Group	INCOME											
	\$2000-2499		2500-2999		3000-3999		4000-4999		7000-7999		10,000 +	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
25-29	11.5	12.5	12.1	12.6	12.3	12.8	12.5	12.9	13.1	12.7	13.6	12.8
30-34	10.2	12.3	11.1	12.5	12.1	12.7	12.4	12.9	14.0	12.6	14.4	13.6
35-44	8.8	12.0	9.3	12.4	10.7	12.7	12.0	13.2	13.5	12.9	14.8	12.9
45-54	8.4	11.0	8.5	12.2	8.8	12.6	9.9	13.6	12.6	12.7	13.4	12.9
55-64	8.2	10.1	8.3	12.0	8.6	12.4	8.9	13.0	12.3	12.6	12.8	12.6
65-74	8.3	10.6	8.3	12.0	8.6	12.2	8.9	12.5	12.2	12.4	12.6	12.6
75 +	8.5	11.4	8.6	11.2	8.8	11.6	8.9	12.1	10.8	12.2	12.4	12.5

A few persons with ability overcame the handicaps of a meager education. Taking the 10 years before eligibility for old age pensions begin, 55 to 64, one man in 16 received an income of \$4000 or better despite less than five years of school experience. However, among high school graduates almost one in three attained this level as did approximately three out of five of the college graduates. Half or more of males 25 to 54 years of age and almost half of those 55 to 64 (47.1 percent) with less than five years of school, failed to receive as much as \$2000 in 1949. Only in the youngest group did the proportion of college graduates in this income bracket exceed 11 percent. The trends are similar, but not wholly identical for females.

The implication of all the data thus far presented is that for those who possess the ability a college education is a financially profitable investment. They do not answer the questions as to how profitable. Illustrative of several ways in which detailed answers over a life time could be presented is the next table, number IV. Here again the age group in the 10 years before assumed retirement under the

Social Security Act is taken and median income for each educational category is computed.

The monetary advantages of carrying education as far as possible seem clear from these data. It also appears evident that the advantage of either partial high school or partial college education over the next lower educational categories has less value than any other intermediate forward step between almost no education and college graduation. As between high school and college graduates and assuming that the difference shown is constant through the decade, the additional income of the college over the high school graduate for this period is more than twice the cost of a college education as estimated by the Office of Education, giving effect to the greatly lowered earnings of the college student during his four year course. It is not

TABLE IV

Median Income of Males and Females 55-64 Years of Age by Educational Status: U.S. 1949

Years of School Completed	Median Income Male	Median Income Female	Gain Over Male	Previous Group Female
Less than 5	\$1728	\$617	—	—
5 to 7 years	2172	765	\$444	\$148
8 years	2601	942	429	177
High School				
1 to 3 years	2928	1036	327	94
4 years	3436	1472	508	436
College				
1 to 3 years	3602	1607	166	135
4 years or more	5142	2591	1540	984

possible to present any estimate of post-graduate work which may have been undertaken. It is hardly likely that this would wipe out the advantage and it must be remembered that the advantage shown is for only one decade. It becomes noticeable with age 30.

This article must close with a warning as to the interpretation of these data. The dollar figures used throughout this chapter represent total cash income, not wages, salaries and income from the sale of farm products alone. However, since surveys by the Federal Reserve Bank show that apart from government bonds usually not held in large amounts, only about one-sixth of our population have securities, it is fair to take the data as indicative of the trends in wage differentials according to the varying levels of education attained.

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EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE

Edmund deS. Brunner and Sloan Wayland

The association of the educational status of American adults with certain variables relative to their social and economic status has often been demonstrated. The results are probably in line with what the average person would expect though the exceptions are noteworthy. This article considers certain variables with respect to family patterns as disclosed by the 1950 United States Census. Here in several particulars the findings appear to run counter to some current conceptions with respect to the marital status of variously educated groups and with respect to the fertility of married women with contrasting educational experience. These will be discussed in order.

EDUCATION AND MARITAL STATUS

Education appears to have a marked influence upon marital status. Among males in their 20's the highest proportions of unmarried in 1950 were those with less than five years of schooling and with 16 or more. Above 30 years, the differences are less, but again, the functional illiterate also shows a higher proportion of single men than any other educational category. Among women the college graduate has the highest proportion of unmarried. This proportion tends to rise as age increases. The functional illiterate is in 2nd place up to age 44. Otherwise the proportion of single women increases with the amount of education. The data given in table 1 for selected age groups and levels of education illustrate the trend.

TABLE I

Proportion of Unmarried for Selected Age Groups and Education Levels: U.S. 1950

Age Group	YEARS OF SCHOOLING							
	Less than 5 years		8 years		12 years		16 years +	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
20-21 years	70.3	41.0	68.1	28.8	78.9	47.4	86.3	70.6
22-24	47.1	26.8	41.6	17.8	47.7	24.8	63.3	50.7
25-29	28.2	16.8	22.1	10.5	21.9	13.4	32.3	27.7
30-34	19.1	14.7	14.1	7.5	12.1	9.2	14.0	18.9
35-44	13.1	9.1	10.1	6.2	8.6	9.0	8.7	20.9
45-54	10.9	5.4	8.3	5.7	6.9	9.5	6.9	24.2
55-64	9.9	3.9	8.1	6.3	6.1	10.7	6.7	28.1
65-74	8.8	4.2	8.5	7.8	6.6	12.2	6.9	28.4

It is of course natural that the proportion of married persons of both sexes who have had four or more years of college should be low in the younger age groups. This reflects the fact that some of them are still in college or graduate school or have not had time to select their mates and found families. Up to age 30 the proportion of unmarried is sharply higher among men than women. This too is to be expected since despite the increasing number of marriages in which both husband and wife are gainfully employed, the tradition in the U. S. is for the male not to marry until his income permits him to support a wife. After age 30 and especially after age 35 the proportion of unmarried is from 2 to 4 times higher among women than among men of the same age group. However, it must not be forgotten in this connection that approximately three-fourths of the older women are or at some time have been married. These facts lend credence to several popular beliefs about college women. In the closing years of the last century and the opening decades of the present many of them felt an obligation to use their education, either because of economic necessity or because they felt a compulsion to prove that women could take their place in the workaday world. These were the years when the so-called feminist movement and the battle for women's suffrage was at its height. The effects of this social climate upon attitudes with respect to marriage among the better educated is doubtless beyond the ken of today's young adults. Then too the college trained woman doubtless had more exacting standards of what she desired in a husband than her less well educated sisters and by the same token men may have been more wary of the college trained woman of the 1910's and 20's.

At the other end of the scale it is quite apparent that by 1950 a poor education even more than in 1940, is a handicap to marriage for both sexes. With high school graduation or better becoming the norm for both sexes this handicap is likely to grow greater rather than the reverse.

EDUCATION AND STABILITY OF MARRIAGE

Education not only influences to an undeterminable degree the likelihood of becoming married but also the stability of the marriage once contracted, especially with respect to the incidence of widowhood and of separation. Considering the total population widowed women had completed 8.3 years of school, those who were separated 8.4 years. In contrast married women with spouse present had finished almost two years more, 10.1 years. This tendency exists in all regions. In the North and West widowed women had completed 8.5 years of

school, those separated 8.8, as against 10.6 years for women whose husbands were alive and living with them. In the South the differences were less but still significant. The widowed had had 1.5 and the separated 1.7 less years of school than the 8.9 years completed by women whose spouses were living and present. Negroes showed the same tendency, exactly two years of school experience separating the widowed from the married with spouse present. However, Negro women separated from their husband fell only two-tenths of a year below the 6.6 years of school attained by Negro women in unbroken families. It appears that the poorer the education of the married woman the greater the risk of her becoming a widow or of becoming separated from her husband without the formality of a divorce. In part this is doubtless due to the lower economic status of the less well educated. On the other hand, the divorced woman is as a rule better educated by a year in the South but by only two-tenths of a year in the North and West than the widowed or separated.

Among males the separated and widowed show the same tendency as among females but the divorced are not as well educated as those married and living with their wives. Divorced men had finished 8.9 years of school as against 9.2 for those in normal families. Since a very large majority of divorcees remarry it is not possible to make a definitive comparison between the sexes with respect to this status. It may be suggestive, however, to note that married men fall only nine-tenths of a year behind their wives in years of schooling but divorced men are 1.6 years behind the 10.5 record of divorced women.

These generalizations also hold for most age groups. Up to age 44 the proportion of separated, divorced and widowed women decreases as their education increases. Above 45 years of age the differences among the proportions separated and divorced are smaller. Those with less than 5 years of school continue to have higher proportions of widowed but the difference among the other three educational groups are not significant. It will be noted that the proportion of separated women tends to be higher than the divorced at the lower educational levels, but that this is reversed among the better educated. This, like the proportion of widows among the poorly educated, is doubtless in part a function of economic status. Nonetheless a low level of education appears to be definitely related to instability of marriage up to age 55 and especially among women of under 35. Up to age 45 college women are less likely than others to have had their homes broken by any cause. This is most marked among the women 18-24 years of age. In these years the proportion of women with less than 5 years of school separated and divorced is

from 6 to 10 times as high as among college graduates. Separations and divorces are proportionately from 5 to 8 times as high among women of these ages completing 8 grades of school as among college graduates. Even high school graduates show proportionately almost three times as many broken marriages as the college group. It is possible that marriages among the less well-educated tend to be more hasty and less well-considered. This finding raises a very serious problem for our schools in terms of the age-grade level at which instruction in home and family life and home economics should be given.

Major emphasis in this section has been placed upon women both because they marry earlier than men and on the assumption that because the function of home management so largely devolves upon them the relation of their education to the stability of the marriage is perhaps more significant than that of the males. None the less it is quite clear from the detailed data of the census that the male trends are very similar.

There are no significant differences among the regions with respect to these rates for separation and divorce. The North and West, however, have a consistently somewhat smaller proportion of widows especially below 55 years of age for all educational status groups.

NON-WHITE

The non-white record is similar. In the main the conclusions stated earlier with respect to education and marital status, including stability of marriage, hold for the non-white group. The greater the amount of education received, the later marriage took place. Thus for all non-white males 22-24 years of age with less than 8 years of school experience, more than two-fifths were single, but for those with college graduation or more, two-thirds had not married. In the 25-29 year old group less than one-fourth of the males were single, among the college graduates well over two-fifths.

A comparable situation exists among the non-white women. Of college graduates 22-24 years of age in 1950, almost three in five were single as against less than one in four of those with eight years of school or less. For the 25-29 year age group, one third of the college graduates and only one-seventh of those with eighth grade education or less were single. Thereafter the proportions grew closer together although in every age group there was a higher proportion of single, never married college graduates than in any other educational category.

Despite this fact it is significant that beginning with those thirty

years of age and on up the proportion of non-white married woman *with husband present* approximated and in a few age categories exceeded the comparable proportions for other educational categories. This was even more true in the case of the male. In other words, as with the total population, so among the non-whites, the less the amount of education, the less the likelihood of an enduring marriage.

EDUCATION AND FERTILITY

It has been a demographic truism that as the amount of education increased, the number of children per married woman declined. The 1950 census results once more confirm this generalization. The downward trend in the birth rate up to 1940 is also clear from the data. Every 1000 white women ever married, 55 to 59 years of age, had produced by 1950, 2922 children but those 15 to 44 years of age had had only 1828. Granted that many women in this age bracket had not yet completed their families, the difference is significantly large.

However, there are also evidences in the 1950 Census of changes in this pattern. When women are distributed by the years of school they have had the trend just noted appears in every category but the differences among the various categories are clearly growing less. Thus white women, 55 to 59 years of age in 1950 who were college graduates had produced less than half as many children as this age group as a whole and barely one-third as many as white women with less than 8 years of school. This held for both urban and rural non-farm women.

Put another way, the average number of children born by each ever married white woman 55 to 59 years of age by 1950 was 2.92 and ranged from 2.65 for the city woman to 3.88 for the rural farm but in each case white women college graduates had produced at least one child less; 1.65 in the cities, 2.46 among the rural farm. Those in the older age group with less than 8 years of school ranged from 3.42 children in the cities to 4.73 on the farm. For the 15 to 44 year olds the national average was 1.83 children for all white women, 2.7 for those of less than 8 years of school and 1.38 for college graduates; with the other groups falling between.

Another approach to this topic is to note the number of ever married women who had never had any children. For every five year age bracket from 20 to 59 years, the proportion of ever married childless white women tended to increase with the amount of education they had received in all residential groups, urban, rural nonfarm and farm. However, in the age brackets from 40 up the proportion of childless ever married white women college graduates was from

2 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ times the proportion of those who had had less than 8 years of school. Among those in the 30 to 39 years age group this difference was only about 50 percent. Interestingly enough white rural farm women of all ages and educational levels showed somewhat smaller proportions of childlessness than comparable groups among the city and rural nonfarm women. Within the farm population the differences between women with superior education and those with little were large, as much as 3 fold in some age brackets. Table 2 illustrates these tendencies for selected age and educational categories and all residence groups.

TABLE II
Proportion of Childless Ever Married White Women by Selected Age, Residence, and Educational Status

Age and Years of School	U.S.	Urban	RNF	RF
25-29				
less than 8 years	14.0	17.3	11.6	10.0
8 years	15.6	18.7	13.2	10.3
high school graduates	21.8	23.7	18.0	14.3
college graduates	33.6	34.0	32.0	32.2
30-34				
less than 8 years	12.7	15.3	10.8	8.6
8 years	14.3	16.7	12.2	9.7
high school graduates	16.9	18.4	13.9	11.2
college graduates	18.9	19.3	17.8	16.9
40-44				
less than 8 years	13.7	15.8	11.7	9.7
8 years	16.4	18.7	14.4	9.9
high school graduates	22.5	23.6	21.5	15.6
college graduates	26.6	26.9	24.9	27.2
55-59				
less than 8 years	12.2	13.3	11.0	9.4
8 years	15.9	17.5	15.3	10.7
high school graduate	22.3	23.3	22.0	14.6
college graduate	27.2	27.4	29.4	20.6

It seems quite clear from the data that the proportion of childless married women 30 to 40 is tending to fall slightly and that the differences according to educational status are markedly less than among older women. Below age 30 relative recency of many marriages affects the data.

In terms of the future population of any nation the proportion of childless married women is probably less significant than the number of children women have. When this measure is applied the 1950 census results both confirm former generalizations with respect

to better educated women and also indicate that the attitude of married women college graduates toward the desirability of having children has changed sharply since the beginning of World War II. In the 15 to 49 year old group, the number of children under 5 to each 1000 white women was as high among college graduates as in the nation as a whole and for high school graduates more than 10% higher. In other words both high school and college married women exceeded the number of children per 1000 ever married, white women, those who had only 8 years of school or less. Moreover this result nationally was wholly due to the relatively high rate among *urban* college and high school graduates. The number of children under 5 years of age in 1950 among this group exceeded that in the two lower educational categories by from 30 to 55%. In the two rural categories the trend was similar except that those of 8th grade education or less had had more children than college women on farms.

With respect to this entire discussion the two educational categories not shown, namely 1 to 3 years of high school and of college were in almost every case intermediate between the category just above and below.

A few comparisons as given in table 3 will illustrate this trend. For every 1000 white women college graduates ever married 30 to 34 years of age there were in 1950, 882 children under five years of age, a larger number than for the women of any other educational category within this age group. In this age group rural women conformed to the national trend.

TABLE III
Number of Children Under 5 Years of Age per 1000 Ever Married
White Women 30 to 34 Years of Age by Years of School
Completed and Urban Rural Residence

	U.S.	Urban	Rural Non-Farm	Rural Farm
less than 8 years	714	614	783	874
8 years	619	569	635	749
high school 1-3 years	581	562	588	693
high school 4 years	672	662	677	749
college 1-3 years	775	755	776	938
college 4 years	882	861	950	948

NON-WHITE WOMEN

The non-white women 15 to 44 years of age display in the main the same trends as white women. In all residential and educational status categories, however, the proportion of childless ever-married

TABLE IV
Measures of Fertility of Ever Married White and Non-White
Women 15-44 Years of Age by Years of School Completed
and Urban-Rural Residence: U.S. 1950

Yrs. of school	Total			No children			RF			Total			Children per 1000 ever married			RF		
	Urban			Urban			Urban			Urban			Urban			Urban		
	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total	W	NW	Total
less than 8	15.7	26.9		17.9	32.8	14.0	22.5	11.9	17.0	26.96	2575	2299	1991	2944	2885	3414	3678	
8	17.4	30.2		19.7	33.5	15.6	24.7	12.3	17.6	22.09	2086	1937	1797	2406	2522	2835	3222	
high school	25.0	35.7		26.5	37.2	22.1	26.4	19.0	19.8	14.91	1409	1402	1331	1615	1867	1922	2291	
college	29.1	46.4		30.1	46.9	25.7	43.8	25.9	29.6	13.78	1059	1340	986	1452	1365	1680	2166*	

* 1 to 3 years of college. Base for college graduates less than 4000.

non-white women was markedly higher than among whites. It is also interesting to note that except among the rural farm population, and grade school and high school rural non-farm graduates, the number of children per 1000 ever married women was higher among whites than non-whites. Given the high proportion of childless non-white women it follows that those who were fertile produced a larger than average number of children regardless of educational status than did white women. Since there was a disproportionately heavy migration of non-whites from rural areas to cities in the 1940-50 decade these data suggest that for this group children were a deterrent to leaving rural for urban America. Basic comparisons on these points are detailed in table 4.

What some call the population explosion has placed the schools under great pressure. There is a shortage of teachers and of classrooms. There is no immediate prospect of this pressure's easing. Preliminary reports for 1957 indicate that the number of births in the United States, which for several years has exceeded four million touched an all time high at around 4.25 millions, despite a decline in the number of marriages. The last Census survey of fertility, while now several years old, showed that the spurt among urban and college women had been sustained. The Census records demographic phenomena; it does not explain them. Explanations of the reversal in the biological behavior of the American people credit prosperity, the uncertainties produced by world tensions, the welfare laws of the 1930's and other changes in our social environment. As yet research has not tested adequately any of these hypotheses. The world wide character of the phenomenon has revived Malthusian thinking in some quarters. A few economists, viewing the short-term effects on need for capital investment in schools have questioned whether America is saving enough to be able to employ the horde of youth soon to be seeking entrance into the labor force. They point out that in these inflationary times it takes up to \$25,000 in some industries in capital investment (savings) to give a worker a job and that savings are not increasing in the same proportion as population. Thus the columns of Census figures raise questions not only for education but for all institutions. The Census describes the situation. It gives an indication of future demands and needs. On such data policy can be built, but policy making in a democracy is a task for all the citizens and itself requires an educational process.

THE SCHOOL, THE PEER GROUP, AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT¹

By Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson

INTRODUCTION: STATUS OF THE ADOLESCENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Human biology dictates that in all societies there be a period of adolescence, during the after puberty. Societies vary, however, in the extent to which they recognize adolescence as a separate age category and provide a distinct pattern of behavior for it. Some distinguish adolescence sharply from childhood and adulthood, others do not.² In our own society, adolescence is known as the "awkward age," while in some societies this period is relatively tranquil and devoid of problems.³ This fact indicates that the problems of adolescence, where they exist, are not biological but social in origin. A comparison of various cultures suggests that our own problems of adolescence stem from the position of the adolescent in our social structure. We consider adolescents a distinct category, neither children nor adults, and we keep them in the adolescent category well into the years of biological maturity. Yet we do not provide explicit or compelling norms to guide adolescent behavior.

In some societies, the beginning and end of adolescence occur at definite times, and are celebrated by collective rites of passage. Throughout Polynesia, for example, adolescents are sharply differentiated from children and adults. They are formally organized into age groups and, relieved of most social and economic responsibilities, are left free to pursue the tasks of courting and personal adjustment. The primary function of the adolescent groups is to entertain themselves and others.⁴

¹ The ideas developed here grew out of discussions connected with a study conducted by Ida Harper Simpson under the direction of Professor M. E. John at the Pennsylvania State University. Ida Harper Simpson, "Adolescent Behavior and Food and Beverage Patterns," Report No. 1, Social Science Research Center, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania, April 1957.

² Ralph Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 589-603.

³ Until 1928, most writers agreed with Clark Hull's view that the "trauma of adolescence" results from the physiological changes attending puberty. The "social" explanation of adolescent behavior has gained sway since Margaret Mead, in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: William Morrow, 1928), described a society in which adolescence took place without trauma. This approach holds that adjustment to the biological changes of adolescence is helped or hindered by the culture's interpretation of these changes.

⁴ Ralph Linton, *op. cit.*

Our own society, in contrast, does not clearly specify the onset and end of adolescence, or the proper behavior during this period. This vagueness is at the root of our adolescent problem, since people adjust most easily to those situations in which their expected behavior is most clearly defined and understood.⁵ The social role of the American adolescent is not clear. In school, for example, he is expected to be a diligent worker, but his peer group may prefer that he be an irresponsible pleasure-seeker.

The adolescent plays numerous roles in numerous groups. Studies which have emphasized the "trauma" of adolescence have usually focussed on only one status of the adolescent: his status in the parental family in Freudian writings, and his status in his peer group in most other writings. Yet the very diversity of statuses occupied by the adolescent in modern society may account for his insecurity. He has no single "core status" or dominant role whose expectations take priority over the demands of other statuses.⁶ Viewing this situation psychologically, one might say that the adolescent lacks an all-pervasive self-concept. He does not know exactly who he is or who he wants to become.

THE PEER GROUP AND ADOLESCENT SOCIAL NEEDS

The social striving of the American adolescent centers around the need to develop a clear status and a gratifying self-concept which will equip him for adult life. To satisfy this need, the adolescent must do several things. He must gain social recognition on the basis of his own achievements, and in terms of the values of his age group; no longer may he depend on the assured recognition which his family gave him in childhood. He (or she) must develop a self-concept, and the behavior patterns which support this self-concept, which will differentiate his behavior clearly from that appropriate to the opposite sex.⁷ Finally, he must develop certain habits or qualities needed

⁵ Leonard S. Cottrell, "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 617-620.

⁶ The concept of core status was suggested to the writers by Professor Harvey L. Smith of the University of North Carolina.

⁷ Some writers maintain that the need for sex differentiation is subsidiary to the more general need for personal achievement and the approval of the peer group. In this view, the wish of the adolescent to be desired as a date, or to be a football hero, stems from the more general wish to achieve social eminence in the peer group. It has been noted, for example, that a high school or college girl may be more interested in what dress she wears to a party than in whom she accompanies as a date, provided that the boy be socially presentable. On this general point see Margaret Mead, *Male and Female* (New York: William Morrow, 1949), 284-288. Whether the needs

for successful adult living, such as initiative, responsibility, and self-reliance.

Much of the burden of adolescent socialization is placed upon the school. The adolescent spends many of his waking hours in school, or in activities connected with the school. The formal program of the school, however, is not sufficient to meet all of the adolescent's developmental needs. The demands of the curriculum make no distinction between the statuses of boys and girls, with the exception of minor portions of the curriculum such as physical education, shop work, and home economics; therefore the school program contributes little toward differentiating the sex roles of adolescents.⁸ Moreover, the values of the school—diligence in study, respect for the social etiquette and moral codes of the middle-class adult world—are not necessarily those of the adolescent; and the adolescent may or may not derive great satisfaction from achievements in terms of these adult values. He needs to attain recognition on the basis of values peculiar to his own age group.

Unlike the formal program of the school, the peer group enables the adolescent to gain social recognition through his personal qualities and achievements. Its dating pattern, athletic contests, and other activities build a clear-cut sex role into the self-concept of the adolescent. The individual wins recognition for his sense of humor or his loyalty to friends. The boy asserts his maleness in athletics, or by swearing and telling sexual jokes. The girl competes for prestige through dating, and pays homage to her sex by giggling over the latest Elvis Presley record. In these ways the peer group, far more than the formal school program or even the home, defends the individual against the uncertainties of adolescence through the security of group membership. The importance of the peer group for adolescent adjustment is shown in a study of young adult schizophrenics, by N. J. Demerath. The subjects, before their schizophrenic conditions developed, had seldom participated in intimate, informal group activities. They had lacked the ability to associate with their fellow

for personal achievement and sexual differentiation are in fact one or two needs is a question that can remain open without damage to the present analysis.

⁸ See Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), 116; and Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 604-616. Parsons suggests that adolescent sex roles are not significantly differentiated in the family, the community at large, or the school, and that the burden of change and differentiation of sex roles is therefore thrown almost wholly on the peer group.

students, had felt socially rejected, and had identified with the adult norms of scholarly excellence, moral perfection, and submissiveness. Demerath concludes that the person who successfully adjusts to adult demands must first prepare himself in the informal group life of adolescence.⁹

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Despite the value of the peer group for adolescent development, it has its limitations. To the adolescent peer culture have been ascribed such characteristics as irresponsibility, distaste for constituted authority and established moral codes, blind conformity to group values, and a purely hedonistic approach to life.¹⁰ If this description of the peer culture is in any degree accurate, one might question its ability to develop such habits as self-reliance, initiative, and responsibility.

The demands of the school curriculum help to meet the need of the adolescent to develop habits of self-reliance and responsibility. Schoolwork requires concentrated effort and abstention from other activities until the assignments are completed, and it represents striving for a distant goal. Where the academic program falls short is in its inability to harness the adolescent's desire for achievement and recognition among his peers. But perhaps the school is not entirely helpless in this regard. Through its extracurricular activities program, it can enable its pupils to work willingly, in natural and intimate groups, toward goals which they themselves value highly, and in ways which develop such qualities as responsibility and the facility for making vital decisions. The student council, the dance committee, even the home room clean-up committee bring adolescents together in useful or harmless projects where leadership is exercised, mutual obligations are met, and camaraderie is developed. In the extracurricular program, the benefits of the peer group and the school are combined. A balance is struck between free initiative and guidance from above, between play and work, between individual achievement and group obligation.

⁹ N. J. Demerath, "Adolescent Status Demands and the Student Experiences of 20 Schizophrenics," *American Sociological Review*, 8: 513-518.

¹⁰ See, for example, Edward Y. Hartshorne, "Undergraduate Society and the College Culture," *American Sociological Review*, 8: 321-331; Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*; Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949), *passim*; and Arnold W. Green, "Young America Takes Over the Colleges," *Commentary*, 7: 524-534. For an opposing view see Frederick Elkin and William A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," *American Sociological Review*, 20: 680-684.

To be sure, the adolescents in their extracurricular activities will adhere to the values and mores of their peer culture. No more than at the corner drugstore or the bowling alley will they overstep the bounds of conformity to group standards. There is a difference, however, between passive conformity to the behavior patterns of the herd and active problem-solving within the framework of group values. Listening to some popular singer because one knows that one has to like this singer is passive conformity. Deciding which orchestra to employ for a dance, or how to finance the affair, is active problem-solving behavior, within the value framework of the group but requiring creative thought and initiative nonetheless. Conformity to group mores is with us all our lives, and must be with us if society is to proceed in an orderly fashion; but there are different kinds of conformity.

Like anything else, extracurricular activity programs are limited in their effectiveness. They are not a substitute for the study of books. They usually reflect the class stratification of the community with students from the more well-to-do families monopolizing the leadership and those less economically fortunate often left out or relegated to minor positions.¹¹ They may have little appeal to some pupils in underprivileged neighborhoods, among whom the thought of any activity connected with the school arouses feelings of dread or contempt. It seems reasonable, however, to claim some efficacy for them, as one way in which the adolescent can achieve a secure status among his fellows and develop habits of responsibility at the same time. At best, active participation in extracurricular affairs can draw together the separate roles of "student" and "member of the peer group," thus helping to clarify the uncertain status of the adolescent. It may even, in some cases, give him something resembling a "core status" as "member of the school community."

One conclusion from this analysis is that we need not, in the current clamor to tighten discipline and produce a generation of intellectuals, lose sight of the function which extracurricular activity programs may fulfill.

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¹¹ A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949.

COLLEGE DROP-OUTS AT THE END OF THE FRESHMAN YEAR

I. Roger Yoshino

INTRODUCTION

Has time changed the significance of these words which challenged the colleges and universities a quarter of a century ago?:

You college men have no right to continue this wholesale dropping of students. You accept them in September, fresh from the exhilaration of the high school graduation. They have left their commencement exercises with high aspirations to amount to something in the world; the most ambitious of them come to you. You mass them at registration, you teach them in crowded classes. After four months of this you send hundreds of them home—disgraced. You brand them as failures. You tell them they haven't made good. They have made good for a dozen years of schooling. That doesn't count; their failure to adjust themselves in four months in college outweighs all their previous successes. Many, rebuffed by your exclusion, but accepting your judgment as final, marked as failures, downheartedly seek some other occupation. At best it is their second choice of activity. What's more, they begin their new work with a feeling of personal failure.¹

The problem of drop-outs from our schools continues to be a major concern to educators, and it represents a considerable loss of human resources to society. "Few questions can be more important to a college than the area of inquiry concerning student separations. The student separating from college poses questions relating both to his own resulting reaction and to the effectiveness of the college program."²

The situation concerning college drop-outs is even more pressing when one is reminded that those who matriculate into institutions of higher learning have already been through a process in which many of our high school youths drop out at the secondary level for academic, social, economic and sundry other reasons.³

Generally speaking, those high school graduates who continue their education are a select group. "The proneness to attend or not

¹ W. S. Brooks, "Who Can Succeed in College?" *School and Society* (April 12, 1924), 19:424.

² Benjamin Quarles, "Student Separations from College: An Overview," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* (October, 1954), 35:404.

³ Harold J. Dillon, *Early School Leavers, A Major Educational Problem*, New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1949, states that "in the average public school system, 50% of the students who enter high school drop out before graduation." p. 9.

See also, Allison Davis, *Social-Class Influences Upon Learning*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952, and August B. Hollingshead, *Elm-town's Youth*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949.

to attend college is a product of a complex of social, economic, psychological and educational forces."⁴ In a recent study,⁵ a series of questions dealing with the plans of high school seniors for the immediate post-high school year, indicated that thirty-six percent were classified as prospective college students.

Numerous educational and sociological studies have been made concerning the college drop-out.⁶ This paper emphasizes the factors

METHODOLOGY

The population for the study consisted of 98 students who were assigned to the investigator when they first enrolled in college.⁷ Of he engaged in from three to six counseling sessions with his advisor. An advisor has for background reference the dossier of each of his advisees, which contains, along with other information, the following: the student's official high school transcript, an evaluation of the student's personality characteristics by a high school official, and a record of his American Council of Education Examination (ACE) which is designed to measure aptitude for college study. In short, the

⁴ George E. Hill, "College Proneness—A Guidance Problem," *Personnel and Guidance Journal* (October, 1954), 33:70.

⁵ W. L. Slocum, *Occupational and Educational Plans of High School Seniors from Farm and Non-Farm Homes* (Bulletin 564, Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations) 1954.

⁶ Studies are too numerous to list here; however, several of the more helpful sources are: Joseph A. Amori, "Why Junior College Students Withdraw," *Junior College Journal* (September 1941) 12:18-24; P. S. Dwyer, "Some Suggestions Concerning the Relationship Existing Between Size of High School Attended and Success in College," *Journal of Educational Research* (1938) 32:271-81; J. H. McNeely, *College Student Mortality* (Office of Education, Bulletin 1937, Government Printing Office), 1938; Robert C. Nichols, "A Study of Student Mortality for the Freshman Class of 1947-48 at the State College of Washington." Unpublished Master's thesis. State College of Washington, 1949; W. L. Slocum, *Academic Mortality at the State College of Washington*, The State College of Washington, 1956.

students have given as their main reasons for dropping out of college.

⁷ Each new student admitted to the State College of Washington is assigned to an advisor, under the Curriculum Advisory Program. The 98 advisees were assigned to the investigator over a four-year period from 1954-58, and were students generally interested in some phase of the social sciences.

these students, 45 or almost 46% had dropped out of college by the end of the freshman year.⁸ Before a student dropped out of college,

⁸ According to the registrar of the College, the institution's records indicate that an average of 38% who enroll as freshman graduate, and the drop-out rate is greatest in the freshman year.

For the drop-out rates at selected colleges and universities, see Slocum, *Academic Mortality at the State College of Washington*, *op. cit.*

method used to collect information for this paper was based on counseling sessions and interviews together with a tabulation of selected data from the file of each of the student advisees.

REASONS GIVEN BY STUDENTS PRIOR TO THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM COLLEGE

In unstructured interviews, the following reasons, in the order of their frequency, were given by students for their decision to drop out of school:

1. lack of preparation in high school	51%
2. inadequate finances	39
3. no clear-cut field of interest	33
4. poor study habits	29
5. had to take courses I was not interested in	27
6. marriage	22
7. discouragement on account of low grades	18
8. planned to attend college for one year only	18
9. unhappy personal adjustment	16
10. lack of academic ability	13
11. misconception of what to expect in college	11
12. not enough courses I was interested in	11
13. could not make house grades	11
14. transfer to another college	11
15. homesick	04
16. family problems at home	04

Most of the above factors stated by students prior to their decision to withdraw are self-explanatory; however, let us take a brief look at some of the reasons.

ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR WITHDRAWAL

The reasons stated by a student may or may not indicate the basic underlying cause leading to his withdrawal from school. Such factors as rapport during the counseling sessions and interviews, frankness, embarrassment, fear, rationalization and compensation alter the responses. However, it would seem reasonable to assume that the reasons given indicate to a considerable extent the conscious forces motivating the freshmen to drop out of school.

Each student generally has more than one reason for arriving at his decision to withdraw from college, although one particular problem may be the sore spot that precipitates the action. The drop-outs may be dichotomized into two categories. About 42% dropped out mainly because they could not meet the specific academic re-

quirements, while 58% withdrew for economic, social or personal reasons.

In comparing the 53 students who remained in school with the 45 who dropped out, there is a significant difference both in the high school grade point averages and in the ACE scores.⁹ There is also a significant difference between the students who dropped out for academic reasons and those who withdrew on account of other factors.¹⁰ However, most students do not feel that they lack academic ability for college work. Rather, such reasons as lack of preparation in high school and poor study habits appear to present sizeable obstacles to them. This comment by one of the students may be apropos: "I came to college with the pleasant memory of virtually no work in high school and got slapped in the face here. The high schools are too easy on the kids in relation to the work expectation of college."

Lack of academic preparation and poor study habits concern the students who continue in college as well as those who drop out. Students have expressed themselves thusly: "The jump from high school standards to college expectations is too great." "The high schools could help by teaching courses designed more on the college level. Why don't they stiffen up the requirements in high school?" "I found out that I really didn't know how to study, and it's rather hard learning how with so many other adjustments to make."

Most of the students came to college with sufficient funds to meet expenses for a school year; however, many are not able to return for the ensuing years without considerable work during the summer months. Inadequate finances as a reason for dropping out may be valid in a given situation; however, this reason must be viewed in the context of the individual student's socio-economic value orientation. About one out of four advisees stated that he augmented his school finances by doing odd jobs during the school year. Granted that there are degrees of pecuniary inadequacy, the difference between the attitudes of two working students, one who continued in college and one who dropped out, is illustrated by the following: "My parents help me some, but my brother is also in college and they just can't afford to put us both through school. I do without some things, and I have to budget my time, but I can usually find

⁹ $t = 4.37$ (difference between the means of the GPA); $t = 5.19$ (difference between the means of the ACE). Both are significant at the .01 level of confidence.

¹⁰ $t = 4.56$ (difference between the means of the GPA); $t = 4.92$ (difference between the means of the ACE). Both are significant at the .01 level of confidence.

some kind of a job if I really have to. Besides I understand that I can obtain a loan from the College if I am really hard pressed for money." "I'm dropping out because I don't have enough money to continue. I have to make payments on my car, and since I really don't know what I want, the folks think that I'm wasting my time and money anyway."

Just as the socio-economic factor can determine who is to attend college, it is also an influential factor in who is to continue. Those who work and have the moral support of their parents are more apt to do their best. A number of students indicated that they were not returning inasmuch as they had planned from the beginning to attend college for a period of one year only. Of these, about two-thirds said they did not have the necessary funds to come back for the year immediately following their freshman year. The other third "came only for the good experience of college." "I am planning to go to an airline hostess school. I have enjoyed and appreciated my one year in college and wouldn't trade the schooling and social aspects for anything in the world." Several of the students started college with the idea of completing one year of study and then going on to a training school (business, X-ray, etc.) of some sort.

Many co-eds who leave school give marital plans as the reason for withdrawal. Although marriage may be a way out for some students to withdraw without having the stigma of failure attached to them, the institution of marriage is basic and when in conflict with education, it is likely to take precedence.

Reasons for unhappy personal adjustment usually meant one or a combination of the following: difficulty in feeling at ease with fellow students, conflict with a particular professor, or the coldness of the large classroom. Insofar as the evaluation of each student's personality by a high school official is concerned, there was no significant degree of difference between the mean ratings of the drop-outs (D) and those who continued (C) in the following questions:

How well does he get on with others?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Avoided	Unnoticed	Accepted	Well liked	Sought	
			D = 4.14		t = .023
			C = 4.26		

Does he need constant prodding or does he go ahead with work without being told:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Needs much prodding in doing ordinary assignments	Needs occasional prodding	Does ordinary assignments of own accord	Completes suggested supplementary work	Seeks and sets for himself additional tasks	
		D = 3.63	C = 4.00		t = .349

How emotionally stable is he?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Usually well balanced	Well balanced	Exceptionally well balanced
		D = 3.09 C = 3.46	
			t = .750

What kind of citizen has he been?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Uncooperative	A coopera- tive follower	Cooperative with some initiative	Very coopera- tive and a recognized leader
		D = 3.00 C = 3.32	
			t = .055

Has he a program with definite purposes, in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Aims just to "get by"	Vacillating	Has vaguely formed objectives	Directs energies effectively with fairly definite program	Engrossed in realizing well-formu- lated objectives
		D = 3.63	C = 4.10	
				t = .770

What are his chances of success in college?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Will succeed only by unusual effort	Will succeed only if he works to capacity	Average	Excellent
		D = 3.16 C = 3.40	
			t = .490

The factors of no clear-cut field of interest and misconception of what to expect are tied in closely with the growing popularity of college education. Although many students want college to be a part of their life training and experience, problems arise because they are not prepared for the task. As one scholar stated: "Many of the present difficulties encountered by students . . . stem from the fact that a halo has been cast about the word 'college,' and that as a consequence there is a blind rush in this direction, unaccompanied by consideration of the ends sought or the means necessary to achieve those ends."¹¹

Space limits further analysis of reasons for withdrawal. However, it should be reiterated that there is no simple and absolute reason why certain students drop out of college and others do not. There are usually several factors and they are related in many ways.

¹¹ Archibald MacIntosh, *Behind the Academic Curtain*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948, p. 73.

CONCLUSIONS

1. There is a significant difference in the high school grade point average and ACE scores between students who drop out and those who continue their studies in college. On the other hand, there are socio-economic and motivational factors that must be taken into consideration in accounting for the success or failure of any given student.

2. In general, students who matriculate into college have better-than-average personalities. However, freshmen are immature in a number of ways, and need guidance and support from their families, instructors and upperclassmen.

3. Most of the entering students have high hopes and aspirations when they first arrive on campus. There is a definite need to emphasize the academic milieu of college life from the very beginning, and to place the social aspects in proper perspective.

4. Many secondary schools have not sufficiently challenged some students and have not motivated the youngsters to prepare adequately for college studies.

5. Even though a number of students drop out of college at the end of the first year, they feel they have derived some educational and social benefits from the experience. They believe that they have profited personally and that they will be better citizens.

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